is three dozen regions. Hunting hung before the entrance takes the place of a door.

Figs. 21 and 22.—Huts temporarily occupied by Jivaro headmen in the region of the Desaguadero (left bank). The roof is cupola shaped. These dwellings are made of clods of earth (drawn from a photograph).

An inventory of the furnishings and objects found in these huts can be quickly made. I took note; there were mats for sleeping, a clay cook stove, a set of small enclosure containing humble material, pottery of different shapes and sizes, a mortar, some spindles, balls of wool, textile fabric which was generally coarsely woven, sometimes some fishing equipment, and finally a broom. Passing into the courtyard one generally notices maize, yucca, sweet, a loom, and farming implements of European origin.

The vessels are not locally produced. They are imported and Fig. 22 appears here/ come from other indigenous industry of the , neighbors. The pots were shaped on a wheel and bear a

Baldwin--10 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Caranga-
Chipaya

/115 cont./

number at 300 individuals in 1894. As this archeologist did not go to the village of Chipaya itself, his assertion is certainly very approximate and should not be invoked as a proof of the rapid extinction of this tribe. When one thinks of the barrenness of the environment, one is justified in asking oneself if this Uro group, exiled in the Caranga desert, was ever more numerous.

The population of Chipaya is divided in the following fashion: Tuanta, with its subdivision, Warta-ayl'u, numbers 169 inhabitants [illegible] and Tayata 131. I doubt that in /116/ all the tribe is composed of more than 300 members. The numerical ratio between the sexes is 32 men to 26 women in Warta ayl'u and 86 men to 83 women in Tuanta. In Tayata the disproportion between the number of men and that of women (97 men to 63 women) is such that I can only explain it by possible errors in my census. The native who gave me the list of people in this "society" did so reluctantly and very negligently. His reluctance is explainable by the fear that this operation inspired in all the Chipaya. They saw in it a measure which would put their former rights in danger or threaten them with some unusual tax (1).

1. A short time before the expedition, a half-breed in the service of the government had gone to Chipaya to make a census of the population and to compel the Indians to procure identity cards, an ingenious process thought up by Bolivia to extort money from the wretched native population. The Chipaya took the business very badly, and the half-breed, threatened with death, barely had time to escape. The Indians related the incident to me, still laughing uproariously at the terror

Carangas—
Chipaya

/116 cont./

651
659 that they inspired in this functionary. The hero of this adventure even had the ridiculous idea of offering to accompany me to Chipaya.

163 The Čipaya are not very prolific. Households with more than two children are rare. I know of only one with five children, two with four, and five with three. Infant mortality is very high, as in all Indian tribes. Couples without children are fairly numerous, and the Čipaya often remedy this situation, which they consider a misfortune, by the adoption of an orphan. For a pastoral people like the Čipaya, children represent a capital asset and contribute to relieving their parents of a part of the work that has to be done by watching over the flocks. Hence their despair if their union remains sterile.

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-849
[597]
[858]

162 One must include in the number of temporary inhabitants of Chipaya village the people of Salinas who come to buy cheese. These individuals, for the most part repugnant half-breeds or assimilated Indians, sometimes remain there for a rather long period. Some Aymara from Sabaya or Iscara seem to be permanently established in the village. These strangers almost always have shops and sell to the Čipaya coca, alcohol, and some small objects of prime necessity.

[439]
[439]

197 The language. The Čipaya are all bilingual. Among themselves they still employ a Uro /Uru/ dialect, and with strangers, Aymara. This latter language is tending more and more to supplant Uro and has already eliminated a considerable number of the most common words. This infiltration of Aymara is already so advanced that there are no children over ten who do not speak it, and all the women, although the majority have /117/ never left their village, express themselves fluently in this language. The Čipaya have also undergone a Quichua /Quechua/ influence, as the Quichua elements in their vocabulary show. Spanish has also exercised great power over their primitive tongue. Its effect has

[197]

/145/

/Pl. I faces p. 145./

The last group of Uru Indians living in the village of Iru-Itu, or Angoake, on the banks of the Desaguadero, about 25 kilometers from Lake Titicaca, has almost entirely disappeared in the course of the last years.

A long period of drought between 1940 and 1945 has lowered the level of Lake Titicaca by more than three meters; at many points the water has receded several hundred meters.

At the time of my first trip in 1938, the village of Iru-Itu had about 100 inhabitants; the Desaguadero went through vast swamps dotted with numerous ponds and lagoons with a great abundance of totora beds /totorales/. In 1941 a plain of sterile sand had replaced the swamps and fields of reeds; the Desaguadero was reduced to a narrow, muddy ditch.

Because of this the Uru have lost practically all their means of existence. The swamps covered with reeds, the totora beds, furnished them with the Scirpus necessary to make their fishing balsas and to cover their houses and served as shelter for numerous aquatic fauna: fish, suches (Trichomycterus dispar and rivulatus), bogas, hispe, carache (various Orestias), and birds sought by the Indians for their meat and eggs. Their entire economy, based partly on hunting and fishing and partly on the sale of totora fishing balsas and mats to the neighboring Indians, has thus been destroyed.

Many of the Uru are dead. Others, the young ones, have dispersed, mingling with the neighboring Aymara groups; some have joined the Lake Titicaca fishers. The old ones, more attached to their customs and their /146/ traditions and incapable of adapting themselves to new conditions of existence, have remained in the dead village.

In 1944 most of the houses had been abandoned; the totora roofs could not be repaired for lack of reeds, and many had given way. Only 21 people remained in the village; several women were of Aymara origin, and the few children were in part Uru-Aymara half-breeds.

3:Vellard--2 D, E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Uru SF24

/146 cont./

[16] According to the latest news the group of Iru-Itu seems to [62] be reduced to some 12 people, although since 1946 the level [133] of the lake has risen considerably; in February 1947 it had already risen 90 centimeters. This rising movement is continuing, and the totora beds are slowly beginning to reform.

[731] The old Uru remembered having seen in their youth, around 1870, an even worse drought than that of these last years. But at that time they were more numerous and the group was able to subsist. Now it is too diminished to reconstitute itself and its disappearance seems definite.

[10] I visited the Uru of Iru-Itu for the first time in 1938. During my stay in Bolivia from 1940 to 1944 I was in constant con-
[12] tact with them. Their misery and their decline did not allow me to glean important observations on their material culture, already studied by the numerous ethnographers who have stayed among the Uru of the Desaguadero. Their imminent disappearance made it necessary, however, to bring together everything which might still exist among them: anthropological observations, traditions, and linguistic records, in order to compare them with the other populations of the region and especially with the different groups of fishers on Lake Titicaca.

These are the results of this study, the publication of which we are beginning.

/147/ Note I

Accounts and Conversations

[14] The linguistic records at our disposal on the Uru are reduced to some quick observations and more or less expanded vocabularies gathered by travelers in the course of brief stays in the region of Iru-Itu. Métraux is the only one to have published texts in the Chipaya dialect. No text exists in the Iru-Itu dialect, and the best sources of linguistic information on

/192 cont./

114 Outside of Posnansky's small Chipaya group, no information exists on height or body measurements in these groups to our knowledge.

126 We ourselves prepared only a very short series: six men and three women, all adults. The fact that we are dealing with the last Uru must not be forgotten. Outside these nine [162] subjects, there were no other Uru adults at Iru-Itu other than a young Uru woman about 30 years old and two very old women whom it was impossible to measure and who allowed themselves to be photographed only with difficulty. The children were [144] largely Uru-Aymara half-breeds. The consanguinity of most of our subjects is another inconvenience of this small series.

121 In spite of these defects it seemed necessary to us to publish our results, which allow useful comparisons with the works of Posnansky and Imbelloni and will without doubt be the last [167] observations on this group. Some other Uru are scattered in the region and already incorporated into the Aymara populations; their affiliation will be difficult to establish.

114 126 It is regrettable that the ethnographers who visited the region when the Uru were still numerous did not seek to obtain a few essential anthropometric measurements. However, it must be recognized that working conditions were not very favorable; the Uru proved to be opposed to any examination of this type, and the cold climate as well as their heavy, woolen garments were also obstacles difficult to overcome. Patient negotiations were necessary, for example, in order to get some of them to allow themselves to be photographed without their woolen caps, and most refused.

162 /193/ In 1942 the population of Iru-Itu was as follows:

--- 6 men, whose ages varied between 40 and 95 years.

--- 6 women between 30 and 90 years old.

--- 9 children, 5 boys and 4 girls, between 4 and 15 years old.

/193 cont./

162 Besides these 21 subjects, who considered themselves as pure Uru, three Aymara women living with some Urus had settled in the village with five children.

829 The concept of pure Uru is completely arbitrary;
597 its value is more social than racial. At all times adoption in
648 various forms made the incorporation of a subject of another origin into the group possible, and he was from then on con-
[128] sidered a true Uru. This was the case with an Aymara child, whom we, of course, dropped from our list.

829 Children of an Uru mother and an unknown father were considered pure Uru.

One of our informants, Carlos Kispe, was himself, as we have seen, a "without father." Although considered an Uru, all his physical and mental characteristics clearly distinguished him from the other members of the group.

The Uru considered Aymara women born in neighboring villages and their children, even if born of Uru fathers, as foreigners. This matrilineal law is interesting to note.

126 Aymara women refused to let themselves or their children be examined. Nothing could persuade the two old Uru women.

We were hence reduced to the nine following subjects:

Men

142 Manuel Inta. An old patriarch 80 to 90 years old, born of Uru father and mother. White, rather thick hair; beard reduced to a few short hairs, entirely white. Thin lips; a straight-nosed profile. No Mongolian fold, /194/ but the presence of a malo-marginal fold, very distinct, on the far part of the eyelid.
[163] Four living sons, Tomas and three others who have left the village; three daughters, among them Andréa and Célestina, and four dead children.

Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son. Considered pure Uru. No white hair. Thin lips, straight nose. Very marked malo-marginal fold.

/195 cont./
142 Nose depressed at the base, a slightly convex profile. A very accentuated malo-marginal fold.

●162
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List of the Population

Uru men:

Manuel, Inta, 80 to 90 years old.
Tomas Inta, 50 to 60 years old, Manuel's son.
Luis Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's nephew.
Andrés Vila, 90 to 95 years old.
Luis Vila, 80 to 90 years old.
Carlos Kispe, 40 to 50 years old (characteristics of an Uru-Aymara half-breed).

Uru women:

Santusa Inta, 30 to 35 years old, Manuel's niece.
Célestina Inta, 35 to 40 years old, Manuel's daughter.
Andréa Inta, 40 to 50 years old, Manuel's daughter.
Justina Vila, 30 to 35 years old.
X , 80 to 90 years old.
Y , 80 to 95 years old.

Uru children:

Francisco Inta, masc., 14 to 15 years old, Santusa's son.
Sabina Inta, fem., 12 to 13 years old, Santusa's daughter.
Angelita Inta, f., 11 to 12 years old, " "
Jesus Inta, m., 9 to 10 years old, Santusa's son.
Juliana Vila, f., 5 to 6 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Esteban Vila, m., 4 to 5 years old, son of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
Francisca Vila, 3 to 4 years old, daughter of Justina Vila and Luis Inta.
/196/ Miguel Salinas, m., 4 to 5 years old, orphan.
Miguel Kispe, m., 5 to 6 years old, half-breed, son of Carlos Kispe.

/196 cont./

162 Aymara women:

551 Rosa Choque, 60 to 70 years old, Aymara from Machaca.

Francisca Arosquipe, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

María Chura, 40 to 50 years old, Aymara from Guaqui.

Half-breed children:

Victor Inta, m., 10 to 11 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Eugenio Inta, m., 8 to 10 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Ramon Inta, m., 2 years old, son of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Manuela Inta, f., 3 years old, daughter of Luis Inta and an Aymara woman.

Domitilia Tacon, f., 6 years old, adopted Aymara.

162 Total:

6 Uru men, from 40 to 95 years old (one of whom is certainly of mixed blood).

6 Uru women, from 30 to 95 years old.

9 Uru children, 5 boys and 4 girls, from 4 to 15 years old.

3 Aymara women.

4 Uru-Aymara half-breed children.

1 adopted Aymara child.

[125] The age of all these subjects was, of course, estimated approximately. Even the relationship of several of them is doubtful.

164 One of the children of mixed blood, Victor Inta, was struck by typhus exanthematicus.

161 This list shows the deep decline of the group. In 1938
162 there were four patronymic names, those of the four big
621 families in Iru-Itu: the Inta, the Vila, the Kispe, and the
[551] Salinas. In 1942 the Salinas /family/ had emigrated or disappeared, leaving only an orphan. The Kispe /family/

was represented only by Carlos and his son. Two men, a young woman, and her children formed the Vila group. The Inta family was the only still rather numerous one. It has, moreover, always been considered the most traditional and purest of the Iru-Itu families.

Anthropometric Study

We had to limit our study to the essential measurements of the head and body.

The results obtained are contained in Tables I and II and the indices calculated in Table III /see pp. 38-40/.

These figures call for some comments.

In spite of the small number of subjects examined, the results are rather homogeneous for the group of men, with the exception of Carlos Kispe who is considerably far from the general type. The group of women presents marked differences from that of the men. It is quite difficult to judge to what extent these differences are due to a pronounced sexual dimorphism or to the influence of possible crossbreeding, which makes itself felt among close relatives, two sisters and their female cousin.

We will study the male and female groups separately.

Head

The absolute measurements show a notably elongated head for all the subjects examined; the outside figures go from 187 to 210 for the men and from 178 to 180 for the women. The head is narrow among the men, 141 to 150, with the exception of Carlos Kispe; among the women the absolute values do not exceed 149.

The cephalic index does not exceed 75.0 for the masculine groups; only Carlos Kispe is hyperbrachycephalic

4:Vellard--7 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century]

/33 cont./

175 Repartimiento general de los Indios que se an de ocupar en la labor de las Minas y beneficio de los ingenios lamas y relaves de la Villa Imperial de Potosi, con las /34/ ordenanzas que en ello se an de quedar, fechas por el Escmo, Senor Don Francisco de Toledo, Virrey que fue de estos reinos /General Repartimiento of the Indians who are to be employed in work in the Mines and labor in connection with the mills, llamas, and metal sweepings of the Imperial Town of Potosi, with the ordinances that are to apply to it, ussed by his Excellency, Señor Don Francisco de Toledo, when Viceroy of these kingdoms/ (Lima, 16 August 1578).

175 162 This text gives two successive censuses, one in 1578, the other in 1596.

648 966 For the work in Potosi two Uro mitayos were the equivalent of one Aymara mitayo, whence this information on the number of Uros in the census of the population of 16 provinces subject to the mita /forced labor/.

1578			1596
Urus: 2,558	u.	Paria (Poopo)	3,038
57	"	Pune	62
400	"	Quillagas y Asanaquis	400
581	"	Aullagas y Uruquillas	581
53	"	Urmoca	53
2[illegible]	"	Ancamarca y Colquemarca (Carangas)	280
100	"	Totora	100
302	"	Chuquicota y Sanaya	302
147	"	Machaca la chica	147
81	"	Machaca la grande	1[illegible]1
136	"	Viacha	?
203	"	Tiaguanaco	?

[16th Century]

/34 cont./

1578			1596
175 162			
632	"	Guaki	632
58	"	Copacabana	88
380	"	Puno	380
245	"	Paucarcolla	240
419	"	Capachica	515
242	"	Moho y Conima	141
350	"	Carabuco	—
162	"	Guaicho	—
442	"	Hachacache	442
44	"	Guarina	?
58	"	Caracoto	108
120	"	Juliaca	120
59	"	Nicasio	159
79	"	Ayaivi y Chuchero	49
230	"	Lampa de Esquivel	231
23	"	Lampa de Xare	25
141	"	Canavilla	141
210	"	Cavana	216
210	"	Atuncolla	210
276	"	Mañasso	276
75	"	Horuro	75
149	"	Arapa	149
589	"	Samany Susi	589
275	"	Taraco	265
91	"	Azangaro	91
46	"	Caxiguana	46
128	"	Chupa	128
/35/ 94	in	Achaya	98
—	"	Carauco	44
—	"	Numa	22
—	"	Coata	448

/Table given in Spanish./

(Document contributed by Miss Marie Helmer.)

4:Vellard--9 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24 Aymara SF 5

[16th Century]

A
Q
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162

/35 cont./

Machuca (Juan Lozano)

...In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen....Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines....The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory..../Translated from the Spanish./

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

U
175
162
433
735

Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000 Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and founding many metals, which they extract from the mines, they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly are..../Translated from the Spanish./

A
175
K2
433
735
A
[648]
[651]

(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

U
175
129
[131]

Jujuy Archives

Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testaments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the Orosmayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like those who share a boundary with the Atacamas..../Translated from the Spanish./

[16th - 17th Centuries]

/35 cont./

175 (Juan Alfonso Carrizo, Cancionero popular de Jujuy /Book of Popular Songs of Jujuy/, p. XV, Tucuman, 1935.)

/36/ Calancha (Father Antonio de la)

In his Cronica moralizada /Moral Chronicle/ of the order of St. Augustine, Father de la Calancha speaks at length and in several passages of the Uru.

[162] [181] In the Province of Paria which the illustrious benefactor Lorenço de Aldana gave us...; the largest number of Indians who inhabit it are Uro Indians, the most ignorant people of Peru, obscene and dark-skinned /renegrida/ they eat raw meat, lived on Lakes, and only like marshy country. The chief [103] pueblos in this Province are Paria or Challacollo. /Translated from the Spanish./

(Volume I, p. 353.)

[162] [197] [181] This pueblo (of Challacollo) had 2,400 tax-paying Indians who were being catechized by our Order.... These are crude Uro Indians, without breeding, dark-skinned /renegrida/, without cleanliness, enemies of social intercourse, and not at all [226] prone to the cult of our faith; for subsistence and gain they fish in the lake of Paria...those who live on land /do so/ in [342] sepultures underground owing to the cold, and when they live on the lake, their houses are on platforms and cattails...the [137] Uro Indians are born, grow up, and live on this lake over the water on the cattails, which here are called totorales, and which are very thick, and with this kind of light rushes, here [291] they live with no clothes or coverings (and this in a very cold [197] land) than some mats of these cattails....Their language is the most obscure, disjointed, and crude of all in Peru, entirely guttural, and it cannot be written without great confusion. [103] [197] There is another pueblo that is called Capinota, and it is a Priory with a subsidiary church of Uro Indians called Charamoco where the teaching religious of Itapaya teaches since he is only one league away....There is another pueblo four leagues

[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

175 701 721 648 Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustin en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

175 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y perniciôso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

[131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[197] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find..."the Teaching [635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal [162] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority...a person who has known them for 35 [197] years and has more than sufficient experience,...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Ura.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

Uru history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (totora) swamps of the Río Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Ahuallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Río Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Chearaque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Río Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latcham, 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others from the Río Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhyme states that, "De indio Uro ningun hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonio wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
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THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO

By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totora* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—*viz.*, scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.[1]

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahualle moyo*, some 20 km. from Ancoaqui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoaqui*, on the left[2] bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca *Iruitu*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40"),

[1] The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uro-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South America ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

[2] Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *communidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

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Nazacara, 64 km. from Lake Titicaca and 23 km. from Ahuallamaya, a little n. of 17° s. lat.; *Simiáque*, an islet in the Peruvian Desaguadero, 6 km. from the village of the same name (nearly all the natives here, however, spoke Aymará); and *Sojapata*, 5 km. from the village of Desaguadero, in Peruvian territory (this is spoken of as "the habitual residence of the Urus"; it is an *estancia* where some cattle are bred). Polo adds further that "In 1873 there existed the Uro *haciendas* of *Chearaque*, *Taguau*, *Tacacatani*, *Chicani-uma*, *Machacamarca*, *Urcuni-uma*, *Huallaqueri*, *Calayampani*, and *Tocori* [all these names are etymologizable in Aymará, save perhaps *Taguau* (W.LaB.)]; and the inhabitants of the Peruvian district of the Desaguadero numbered 937 (males 448, females 489), of whom 809 were Indians." This figure of course includes Aymára, but it is wholly possible that the Uru may have numbered between one and two hundred even this late.[3]

In March 1938[4] the population of Ancoaqui (*kanq'o-haq'e*, Aymará "white people"), a village of the Uru in the midst of an Aymára *communidad* of the same name, was thirty families (in the taxable sense), according to the native who was the *ilacata* (head of the *communidad*,? from "alcalde") for the previous year. This figure probably includes most Uru males past puberty, both in the village and in the surrounding area, and I am inclined to agree with Métraux' estimate of less than a hundred Uru individuals at Ancoaqui and the entire region as well in 1931.[5]

This Aymára *communidad* of Ancoaqui, in the midst of which the Uru town of the same name is located, is one of the largest in the western part of the Provincia of Ingavi. It is about twenty kilometers long, north and south, and about fifteen kilometers wide. In the middle of this, scarcely a foothold on the solid land, the Uru possess a small holding of the village of Ancoaqui and the environs, scarcely amounting in all to a plot with a circumference of a thousand meters.

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[3] José Toribio Polo, *Indios Uros del Perú y Bolivia* (Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfico de Lima, 1901, 10: 645-682), p. 666. D. M. Jiménez de la Espada (in Neveu-Lemaire, *Los lagos de los Altiplanos de la América del Sud, La Paz*, 1909, p. lviii) says the Uru were anciently inhabitants of the "Lake of Chuchito." I have been unable to locate this name on available maps; *Chucuito*, however, was an ancient name for Lake Titicaca, hence I believe this lake is meant.

[4] As Sterling Fellow of Yale University I visited the village for some days, incidental to my main study of Aymára ethnography.

[5] Métraux, *op. cit.*, p. 75. The legal term "communidad" here signifies the presence of the ancient Aymára politico-socio-economic organization of the *ayllu* (which still obtains in the remoter parts of the *altiplano*). The *ayllu* system of land-holding was abolished officially by law in 1874, but not in actuality. "Communidad"—as opposed to the term "finca" (= "estancia," "hacienda") where formerly free natives are now serfs to white owners who have usurped their *ayllu* lands—also implies that the native culture is more intact in places so-named.

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[*de Indias*, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace.

Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

> In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people.

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."[9]

More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Čipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that:

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

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[9] Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223-224. Raoul de la Grasserie. *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlinéaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipsig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Südamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39-75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uros: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (American Anthropologist 12: 417-424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357-360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (Globus 69, 1896), p. 19.

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193 gender, know both prefixes and suffixes (but predominantly the latter), and also, in all probability have some forms of incorporation. But more material (texts, etc.) is needed to complete a satisfactory grammatical sketch. Reduplication appears to be not infrequent.

192 [191] All the Uru of Ancoaqui speak Aymará well, though few of them know Spanish. Aymará influence in vocabulary has been pointed out by Métraux.* Spanish influence is second in importance in borrowings, and Quechua a poor third: according to my calculations, in Métraux' vocabulary and textual examples identifiable as non-Uruu, of 630 total listings of words, 63 or 10% are Aymará, 20 or 3% are Spanish in origin, and only 8 or 1.3% are Quechuan. Polo (page 479) notes four Aymará, perhaps three Quechua, and fourteen Spanish loan-words in Uru.

171 199 *Tribal Relations.* In any case, long contact with the Aymára is to be argued from the many Aymarisms in Uru culture, though of course nearly all of these are common *altiplano* possessions: the chewing of coca, the use of Aymára-like *gorros* or knitted llama-wool "toboggan-" caps for males, the use of *tokia* and *t'ola* as fuel (as with all *altiplano* dwellers, including the whites, although there are unexploited coal beds south of Lake Titicaca), use of the *pinkillu*-flute and other musical instruments, the Aymára-like brush-comb and many other articles of material culture, washing the hair in urine, the Aymára modification of colonial Spanish male clothing, the belief in and interpretation of dreams, some family names (e.g. Quispi, Inta), color-names, and vocabulary in general. Save in religion and other aspects of non-material culture, the Uru, like the Chipaya, is little different from general Aymára-Quechua *altiplano* culture, though because of relative isolation the Uru may have preserved elements of this Incaica culture from pre-Spanish times somewhat better than some of these original groups themselves.

149 [148] [198] *Physical Anthropology.* Uru males outnumber the females, and for some time they have been taking wives from among the Aymára. In so long a period of contact with their neighbors of so numerically small a group, much mixture of blood is inevitable; yet the preservation of their language is an earnest of a certain amount of social and biological isolation. Only four [95] [201] family names were encountered at Ancoaqui: Inta, Šalina, Bila and Qispi (for taxation purposes family names are used with Spanish given names), hence inbreeding may have intensified racial features otherwise diluted by 149 the occasional intermarriages with the Aymára. The Uru, particularly the younger individuals, have pleasant almond-shaped eyes, with a distinct

* Métraux (JSAP 27), pp. 90-110.

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hiring themselves out for a year. And this livestock, which is taken when they go to Potosí, is apportioned out in the distribution according to what each one in that subdivision /parcialidad/ has, and sometimes the livestock of someone and that person will not go, and for others the reverse, so that, when it is understood, the system which they have among them has an accounting and a reason and is very exact, for even when they are dealing with one chuco of corn or with two pounds of wool, we see them make different portions when they divide it up, for it is a marvelous thing to see the diligence which they apply in order to insure that no one takes more than his share. I would regard it as very rash to consider changing a system which is so generally in use among new people, for which reason I wish to conclude with the distribution which the repartimiento of Paso /pero/ has made on four different occasions in my presence. These Indians were taxed 11,000 pesos in silver, annual and marked, without counting the other matters of food and cottage and sown land contained in the tax, and there must be, according to the old count of the first inspection, more than 4,000 Indians, although there is no doubt but that many concealed themselves, because the fishermen, who are what they call hurís, cannot be counted and there are a great many of them, and even outside of their lands there are more than 1,000 of them normally hired out to make cloth. Of the hurú Indians of this type, there is no doubt but that these are the best of all. I set forth the example in this repartimiento /166/ because there are three subdivisions /parcialidades/, one of these hurú fishermen, who must be more than half, and some want to say two-thirds. The others are called canayas, and the other subdivision /parcialidad/ is yuca Indians, from all of whom, in order to divide these 11,000 pesos, there assembled about 30 principal Indians and quipucamayos, who are their accountants, or runacamayos, and, when they sum all, their representatives keep upon the ground the stones and grains of corn and beans by which they keep count by their customary system. In the end, in less than three hours time, before me,